Synopsis of

Impact of Emotional labor and work Experience as determinants of Organizational Effectiveness: A study of Jaipur District Frontline Police Officers

A Thesis

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1. Introduction:

Unlike any other profession, police officers are put in the unique role of enforcing law and order, while often simultaneously fulfilling a customer service role. Often, these two tasks are highly inconsistent and incompatible and requires for conduct that can place officers in a state of confusion about what exactly their actions should be. Officers are expected to be authoritative, commanding, and cool toward customer in order to maintain a sense of distance, respect, and control and to ensure officer safety (what has been referred to as 'Professionalism' within policing) (Walker 1977; Wilson 1950). At the same time, officers are expected to be warm, comforting, compassionate, and understanding towards people (Kelling and Moore 1988; Trojanowicz and Buceroux 1990).

These two distinct sets of expectations forced upon officers often conflict with each other leaving ambiguous regarding the right and appropriate behaviour (Kelling and Pate 1973; Hunt 1983). As a consequence officers are required to engage in a wide range of emotional displays while rendering their duties (Pogrebin and Poole 1995; Martin 1999). An officer might be needed to inform a family that a loved one has died from some tragedy or has been murdered or raped, boldly hold a dangerous suspect at gunpoint not knowing when they might be required to kill suspect to save their own, handle aggrieved mob for some discontent. These conditions are likely to constitute emotional labor and may have vast implications for the psychological well being of officers especially when they are in contradiction to their held values.

Due to this it should be no surprise that police officers experience a higher frequency of certain adverse phenomena as compared to other jobs. It has been well documented that police have higher rates of substance abuse, divorce, suicide, pessimism, , sarcasm, burnout, job dissatisfaction, chronic alcoholism, delineation and lower morale than members of other professions (Gilmartin 2002; Brown and Campbell 1990; Violanti 1996). Mostly the inherent risk of police work is seen as the primary cause for these undesirable consequences. But there is little done with respect to emotional labor as an additional causal factor. Undoubtedly, the emotional labor could serve as a substantial catalyst of these and other problems.

2. Definitions:

2.1 Emotional Labor

Emotions are the basis of our interaction with society and an integral part of our interactions with others. They function as expression of perception, affecting our conscious and subconscious decisions. However, we often find ourselves in situations in which our spontaneous natural emotions, or their manifestation, (may) bring about negative/undesirable consequences. This specially stands true in context of service industry where the daily routine of employees involves a series of interaction with other people and any of an employee's emotional displays is regarded as a public performance under his/her employer's control than a private matter of his/her.

For example, let's consider an employee who works at a bank's front desk. Front desk employees are engaged in rendering various banking services, cross sell banking products, apart from receiving complaints, queries and issues and are expected to answer these complaints and provide solution while being calm and conveying respect to the customer. Even if the executives become frustrated with the customer's complaints or their attitudes, the front desk employee is required to speak to the customer nicely. This involves emotional labor that the front desk employee might exert to suppress feelings of frustration and react nicely in order to achieve the expected organizational goal --- providing quality customer service.

In the simplest term, the Emotional labor is the deliberate suppression or expression of emotion to meet the goals of an organization (Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983; Morris & Feldman, 1996). In other words, the intentional management and display of one's feelings in order to influence the response of others is called emotional labor (Hochschild, 1983).

Emotional labor occurs when "the laborer deliberately attempts to direct his or her behaviour toward others in order to foster both certain social perceptions If himself or herself and a certain interpersonal climate" (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993, p. 90). Emotional labor is the effort, planning and control needed to express organizationally desired emotion during interpersonal transactions (Morris and Feldman, 1996).

These definitions clearly indicate that the emotional labor is directed towards the organizational goals and employees know these expected behaviours when organizations communicate behavioural expectation through explicit or implicit corporate dictums such as, "service with a smile" and "The customer is always right." – also known as emotional display rules (Diefendorff, Croyle, & Gosserand, 2005; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987).

The other two key concepts in emotional labor are

1. Surface Acting: On the surface employee shows emotions that are not felt internally (Hochschild,1983)
2. Deep Acting: Employee alter internally felt emotions to align with required emotional expression as per emotional display rules (Morris & Feldman, 1996).

However, recent emotional researcher hypothesizes another construct, 'natural emotion', while defining emotional labor. It is expressing naturally-felt emotions which are consistent with emotional display rules so that no acting is required (Diefendorff, Croyle, & Gosserand, 2005)

2.2 Work Experience:

The operational definition of work experience is the overall length of time in a given occupation or previous jobs collectively. Work experience can also be viewed as the number of times a particular task has been performed.

Perhaps, mostly the tenure (i.e. time-based measures of experience) is being used for experience without fully exploiting the richness of the experience construct. However, this approach does not provide an adequate consideration of the qualitative aspects of work experience. There is empirical evidence that suggests two individuals with equal amounts of job tenure can differ drastically in the complexity, challenge, number and types of tasks they perform (Ford et al., 1992; Schmitt & Cohen, 1989). Experience, therefore, should comprehensively reflect upon the quality and quantity of the efforts, interactions and learning of an individual. Despite the emergence of on-the-job learning in research and practice, we have no "theory of experience" (Merriam & Caffarella, 1999; Campbell, 1990).

Early studies concluded that work experience was not as important for successful job performance as had been previously thought (Fiedler, 1970; Hunter and Hunter, 1984) but later studies found that there is a positive and strong correlation between the two (McDaniel, Schmidt, & Hunter , 1988).

Work experience is perhaps one of the most commonly encountered concepts in personnel research and practice. Work experience is relevant for many human resource functions such as selection, training and career development. Work experience "leads to the accumulation of relevant knowledge, skills, and abilities, performance should improve" (Sturman 2003, 611). Given the importance of work experience for human resource practice and research, it is not surprising that a fair amount of research has examined the concept and its relationship with important outcomes such as job performance, employee satisfaction, and organizational effectiveness.

Work experience tends to have a different impact on each individual due to individual and situational differences. But generally speaking, individuals who have longer work experience tend to value their job more, which in turn tends to give them higher job involvement, higher job satisfaction, higher organizational commitment and promote organizational citizenship behaviour in an individual's work behaviour. As stated by Turnipseed and Murkison (2000), "the length of time in the organization is directly related to positive feelings towards one's employer (Salancik, 1977).

It is also important to know that employees having previous work experience, along with valuable knowledge and skills, bring previous learning to their new jobs that may actually hurt their work performance in their current job. According to Steffanie Wilk, co-author, study and associate professor of management and human resources at Ohio State University's Fisher College of Business, "*Organizations pay higher for workers with job experience for being capable to get productive quickly. But what employers don't realize is that some of what their employees learned in previous jobs will end up being a negative. ...*"

2.3 Organizational Effectiveness:

It is one of the most sought after dependent variable and worthy subject in organizational sciences, and as well as the ultimate focal point of every managerial effort. Organizational effectiveness has

been widely accepted as "the degree to which an organization achieves its goals" (Daft, 1995; Steers, 1977).

The term effectiveness is comprehensive and encompasses several aspects of efficiency and adaptability (Cetin & Cerit, 2010). An effective organization is both efficient in economic and technical aspects, and able to adapt itself to the external changes as well (Carnall, 2003). Mott (1978) has observed three aspects of organizational effectiveness

a) Productivity : deals with quality, quantity and efficiency of delivery of product and service
b) Adaptability: has symbolic and behavioural adaptability to change or in anticipation of change
c) Flexibility: ability and efficiency to temporarily cope up with organizational emergencies

Organizational effectiveness is optimizing the utilization of resources to maintain internal efficiency, being able to adapt and sustain through the external unpredictability, and still being able to achieve its objectives in the desired manner. Organizational effectiveness is "a company's long term ability to achieve consistently its strategic and operational goals" (Fallon & Brinkerhoff, 1996)

Chakravarthy (1986) recognized different conceptions of effectiveness including profitability, financial-market, multi-stakeholder satisfaction, and quality of firms' transformations. Organizational effectiveness is critical to success in any economy. In order to achieve increased and sustainable business results, organizations need to execute strategy and engage employees and for that business leaders need to focus on aligning and engaging their people, the people management systems, and the structure and capabilities (including organizational culture) to the strategy.

3. Review of Literature

According to Maslach's (1982) findings on healthcare workers, the requirement of attending and caring for patients continuously exerts a tremendous emotional burden on healthcare professionals. Those who identify with their roles entirely and act in accordance with care and sensitivity will soon be exhausted or burnout and (then) will no longer be able to mask their actual (and perhaps inappropriate) emotions later on, despite their massive effort. Exposure to the risk of burnout is the highest with those who are doing their utmost to fully meet the emotional role demanded from them.

In Arlie Hochschild's(1983) seminal work 'The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling ', she coined the term Emotional Labour. It means "the management of feelings and emotions to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display; emotional labor is sold for a wage and therefore has exchange value" (Hochschild, 1983; pp. 7). The author examined the work of airline attendants and bill collectors to study the relationships among emotional experience, emotion management, and feeling rules (Hochschild, 1979, 1983). This concept has spurred a flood of research on the topic of among researchers in the west. Emotional Labour is where employees have to smile and be polite to the customers, even when they do not feel like it. Hochschild(1983) compared this to acting, and she identified two types; *Surface and Deep Acting*, and this notion was developed from Goffman (1956).

Others (Grove and Fisk, 1989) suggest that emotional labor is an impression management helping an individual to direct one's behaviour to enhance social perceptions about them or cultivate desired interpersonal climate (Johnson, 2004).

Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) took a different move towards Emotional Labour. They looked at emotional labour as an observable behaviour contrasting to the management of feelings. They looked at the impact of Emotional Labour on task effectiveness, rather than on health and believed that it is important that the customers see their emotions as genuine and not acting. Further they said that due to the employee's identification of themselves with the organization and their routine, they will automatically shift into their role, without giving it a second thought while carrying on with their job requirements and therefore Emotional Labour is "the act of displaying appropriate emotions" (pp. 90).

Morris and Feldman (1996) defined Emotional Labour as "the effort, planning, and control needed to express organizationally desired emotion during interpersonal transactions" (pp. 987). They proposed four dimensions of Emotional Labour: (a) Frequency of interaction; (b) Intensity of interaction and duration of emotions; (c) Variety of emotions required and (d) Emotional Dissonance. Emotional Dissonance is when the emotions expressed contradict the emotions that are felt (Hochschild, 1983).

Gross's (1998) model states that Emotion Regulation might occur at two points. The first instance is called Antecedent-Focused, and this is when persons adjust the antecedents of emotions. While the second point, which is Response- Focused, states that the individual modifies the physiological displays of emotions. Grandey (2000) compares these two points with Surface Acting and Deep Acting.

Grandey (2000) stated that Emotional Labour may be stressful to the individuals, but can still benefit the organisation. She introduced the concept of Emotion Regulation, as "the processes by which individuals influence which emotions they have, and how they experience and express these emotions". Grandey(2000) suggests that constituents of Emotion Regulation may help one understand the reasons why Emotional Labour may lead to stress and burnout. Grandey (2000) concentrates on two aspects of Antecedent-Focused Emotion Regulation, *attentional deployment and cognitive change*. Attentional deployment occurs when one consider about proceedings that evoked emotions needed in a particular situation, similar to Hochschild's (1983) Deep Acting. Cognitive change, is where one perceives the situation in such a way that the emotional impact is lessened. The difference between the two, is that the first focuses on changing the focus of personal thoughts, while the second focuses on modifying assessment of the situations. She identified two long term consequences of Emotional Labour, individual and organizational well being.

Zapf (2002) defines this concept as "the psychological processes necessary to regulate organizationally desired emotions" (pp. 239). Zapf s (2002) perspective of Emotional Labour is derived from the action theory (Frese & Zapf, 1994; Zapf, 2002 which states that people try to actively cope with the environment. Hacker (1973, 1998), cited by Zapf (2002), argues that work action is the psychological component of work process, therefore it is the psychological regulation of work actions and cognitive processes which link the objective work environment to behaviour.

Most literature on emotional labour deals with the risks of job dissatisfaction and burnout (Kahn, 1993). Kruml(1999) gives an account of emotional dissonance, Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) of self-alienation, Kruml and Geddes (2000a) of emotional exhaustion, Pugliesi (1999) of stress at work, Bulan Erickson and Wharton (1997) of a feeling of un- truthfulness, and Schaubroeck and Jones (2000) of physical symptoms. However, when the individual's true emotions are in tune with workplace requirements (i.e. genuine acting), the emotional dissonance and negative side-effects are ruled out, as it is no longer emotional labor.

Experience can be defined as the accumulation of context-based events that an individual perceives (Quiñones et al., 1995). This definition provides a clear cut differentiation between knowledge gathered through education and through the process of actually performing a job. Within the purview of a job, experience means the build up of job-specific knowledge from perception, action and practice of the tasks and duties associated with a particular job.

It has been long- researched, studied and well-documented, that individual job performance is dynamic and varies over a period of time(Deadrick, Bennett, & Russell, 1997; Deadrick & Madigan, 1990; Henry & Hulin, 1987; Hofmann, Jacobs, & Baratta, 1993; Hoffman, Jacobs, & Gerras, 1992; Hulin, Henry, & Noon, 1990; Ployhart & Hakel, 1998). However, despite area is highly important from the point of predicting the performance, we know relatively little about the nitty-gritty of changes in individual job performance over time (Ployhart & Hakel, 1998). Though, despite time not being causal(Hulin et al., 1990), some changes in job performance may be attributed to effects approximated by variables such as job experience, organizational tenure.

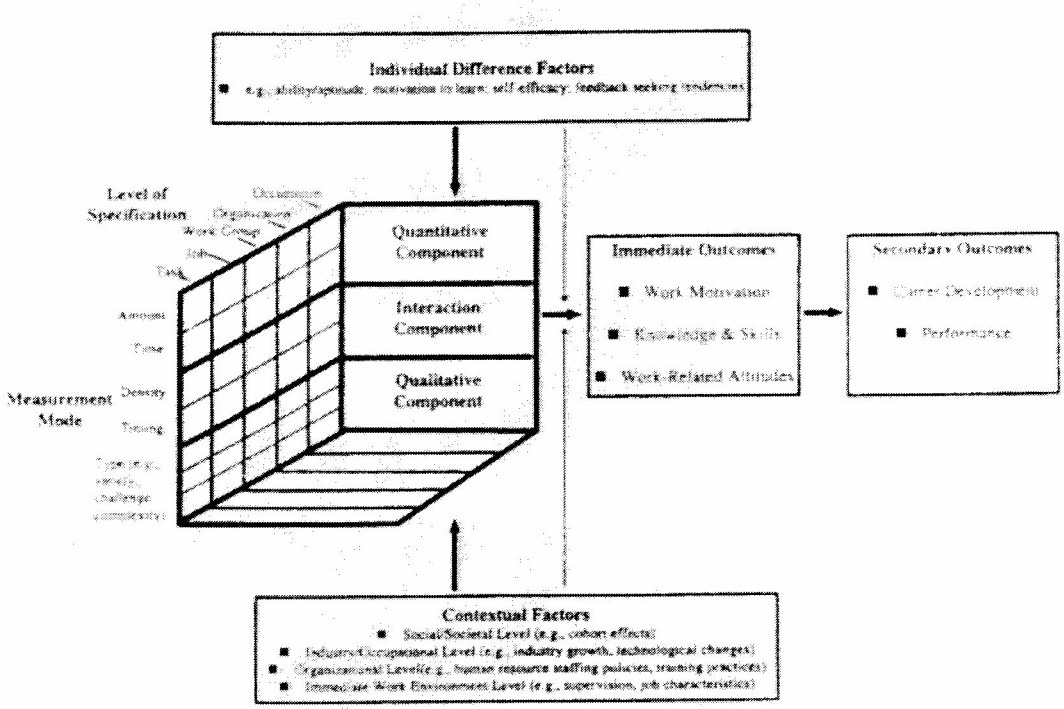


FIGURE 1. Model of work experience (Tesluk and Jacobs 1998).

The integrated model of developed by Tesluk and Jacobs (1998) to summarize the components of experience and the influential factors of work experience as well as determine the outcomes of work

experience. This model contributes to a previous model originated by Quinones, Ford, and Teachout (1995) in the research of work experience.

In practice, job experience (i.e., organizational tenure) usually plays an important role in human resource decisions (Olsen & Berger, 1983; Quiñones et al., 1995; Campion, Cheraskin, & Stevens, 1994; Tesluk & Jacobs, 1998 Gatewood & Feild, 2001). Understanding the relationships of job experience with performance is of critical concern for theory, research, and practice.

Organizational familiarity (or socialization) is the process by which an individual understands and internalize the knowledge, values, and expected behaviours necessasiated by the organization to assume an organizational role (Chatman, 1991; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). With time, employees learn how to feel, think and act within an organization's environment by gaining familiarity with the organization's systems, perceived as reliable by co-workers, and establishing relationships (Feldman, 1976).

While organizational work experience may appear less directly related to job performance, the accumulation of knowledge of expected behaviours and acceptance by co-workers should affect (in theory) one's proficiency within an organization. Thus, measuring familiarity with the environment or how to function within the organization captures a level of understanding beyond that explained by changes in job experience over time.

4. Research Problem:

Police work involves substantial emotional labor by officers, who must control and manage their own emotional manifestation and those of citizens, who often are come across at their worst—injured, upset, or angry. The prime objective of the police is to serve general public with sensitivity and, at the same time, to forcefully enforce the law. They have to play several conflicting roles at the same time and needless to say, that can be highly draining and stressful. It can bring about negative aspects of emotional labor to the police force like of job dissatisfaction, burnout, emotional dissonance, self-alienation, emotional exhaustion, chronic stress at work, feeling of un- truthfulness, physical symptoms, suicidal tendencies, rage outbursts, fatigue, depression, disturbed circadian cycles, isolation, indulging into crime etc. Police officers have one of the highest suicide rates in the nation, possibly the highest. They have a high divorce rate, about second in the nation. They are problem drinkers about twice as often as the general population. These facts are warning signals for unseen problems that are not being handled.

Given the unique role of policing in our society, its peculiar organizational and demographic tendencies and pressures, and the necessity that its officers utilize a broad range of emotion work in the execution of their duties, it seems that law enforcement provides fertile ground for the study of emotional labor. It is the purpose of the present work to explore the antecedents and consequences of emotional labor within policing.

5. Rationale for the Study

The term 'Emotional labour (EL)' after being coined by Hochschild (1983), was studied in various service sectors. Even after three decades, there are still gaps in research into the impact of emotional labour and the other stressors and strains of work. Some researchers found that emotion management was negative to service employees as their emotions were now commanded by the organization. Past research has provided strong evidence that the performance of emotional labor does have negative consequences on employees in context of emotional exhaustion (Johnson and Spector, 2007; Kim, 2008), intention to quit (Abraham, 1999), job satisfaction (Jones, 1998; Yang and Chang, 2008), work–family conflict (Seery et al., 2008), turnover (Meier et al., 2006), and so forth. On the other hand, the mandated emotional display was believed to benefit the organization (Adelmann, 1995; Johnson, 2004; Van Dijk and Kirk, 2006; Wharton, 1993) as it increases the efficiency, reduces the necessity of direct control, and lessens interpersonal problems (Ashforth and Lee, 1990). However, by impeding employees' right to impulsive natural action, employers (may) cause a series of negative physiological and psychological consequences upon employees (Wharton and Erickson, 1993). These conflicting findings suggest that emotional labor may not be necessarily negative in itself. It would be thus worthwhile to empirically investigate whether these findings in the west reflect the situation in India. Further, the topic on emotional labor is still an under-researched area in India specially in public service domain. Hence, research into the emotional labor process and its consequences is warranted, particularly in view of the current scenario of the public service sector in India.

Furthermore, the studies pertaining to emotional labor revolved around service sector and that too, mostly in private setup and not much extensively in public sector domain. The major researched areas are airlines cabin crew, hospitality sector, health care, education, banking, call centres etc. In the organizational literature, emotional labor research specifically concerned with public service work has only recently emerged (e.g., Guy, Newman, & Mastracci, 2008). However, no study was found on state police department(s) and similar sectors where the role of emotional labor can be overwhelming.

This study will be conducted on State Police of Rajasthan state to understand the status and role of emotional labor at the police stations. The study will be conducted in police stations because there are maximum public interactions and the role of emotional labor may be crushing. The findings of the study will have implications to the police force at ground, and policy makers, specifically with regard to training and stress management programs for their valuable work-force.

It is proposed that a better understanding of the role that emotional labor plays will help police administrators better understand the impact and social psychology of emotion within policing. Also, a reconsideration of current practices and policies may be done with better understanding on the subject matter.

The researches shows that the longevity of work experience and tenure of employees have a positive effect on the way employee value their job. As stated by Turnipseed and Murkison (2000), "the length of time in the organization is directly related to positive feelings towards one's employer through work-value congruence and these feelings may result in some level of Organizational Citizenship Behaviour which eventually impacts the overall organizational effectiveness. Kumar and Giri (2009) found that the employees with higher the level of work experience possesses higher

organizational commitment and job involvement. Therefore, this may be inferred that with higher experience, people tend to identify themselves with the organization and the job and therefore there is less felt emotional labor which will result in organizational effectiveness.

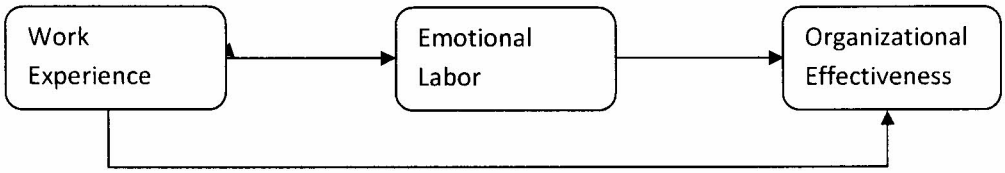
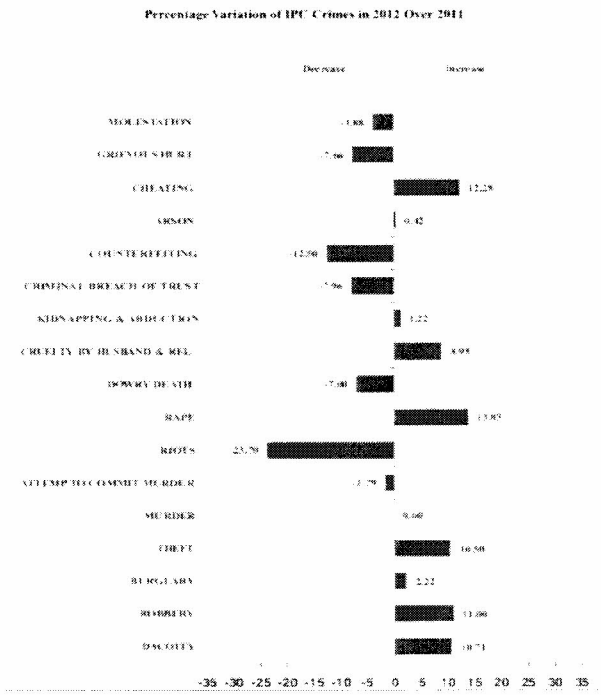


Fig. 2 : Theoretical Framework

6. Introduction to Rajasthan Police:

The Rajasthan Police Service was formed in January 1951 and eligible officers from all over the State were appointed. This marked the beginning of Rajasthan Police as we know it today. Rajasthan has the unique distinction of being one of the most peaceful States in the country and the credit can well be given to relentless and untiring efforts of more than 80000 policemen who work with a single motto: "committed to serve". The crime rates in Rajasthan are well below other states (http://ncrb.gov.in/ p:327-328) and that is worth mentioning when Rajasthan is the biggest state of India.



Source: http://jaipurpolice.rajasthan.gov.in/CIR2012.pdf p:17

The status of Rajasthan Police is as under

Police at a Glance

Infrastructure	Rajasthan
Number of Police Ranges	7
Number of Police COMMISSIONERATE	2
Number of Police Districts	43
Number of Police GRP Districts	2
Number of Police Circles	197
Number of Police Stations	822
Number of Police Out Posts	1162
Number of State Armed Police Bns. including MRC	14

Strength	Sanctioned	Vacant
Indian Police Service	204	14
Rajasthan Police Service	761	159
Police Subordinate Service		
Inspector	1074	268
Sub Inspector	3990	1408
Assistant Sub Inspector	3561	1401
Head Constable	9679	1009
Constable	70139	3782

Rajasthan Police is fully geared to meet the challenges of the 21st century. Gone are the days of camels and horses. Today they are a highly trained force with modern aids at their disposal like the latest Forensic Science Laboratory, advanced Telecommunication facilities and now Information Technology.

With their bravery and commitment to duty, Rajasthan police has bagged several awards and medals bringing honour to the state. Rajasthan police is a very progressive organization that believes in innovation and experimentation with the processes and methods to serve people efficiently and to bring effectiveness in their overall functioning.

The Jaipur Police force is divided into 5 Zones

Range : JAIPUR COMMISSIONERATE		
JAIPUR EAST	Police Circles: 5	Police Stations: 16
JAIPUR NORTH	Police Circles: 5	Police Stations: 14
JAIPUR SOUTH	Police Circles: 4	Police Stations: 14
JAIPUR WEST	Police Circles: 4	Police Stations: 16
JAIPUR RURAL	Police Circles: 7	Police Stations: 21
Total :	**Police Circles: 25**	**Police Stations: 81**

7. Research Methodology:

7.1 Objectives:

The present study is to be conducted with these main objectives in mind:

- To examine the status of emotional labor of frontline policemen;
- To explore the antecedents of emotional labor in police force
- To investigate the relationship and role of work experience on emotional labor;
- To examine the impact of emotional labor in organizational effectiveness;
- To make recommendations in minimizing, if not eliminating, the adverse consequences of emotional labor.

7.2 Research Design:

The purpose of this research is to explore the various dimensions of emotional labor of frontline police officers of Jaipur District and to investigate the antecedents and consequences of emotional labor. For this purpose an elicitation study would be undertaken to identify the key issues causing emotional labor in order to modify the standard questionnaires/scales to better fit the purpose of the study. There would be two questionnaires: one for the frontline police personnel measuring their emotional labor and other related information. The second questionnaire will be developed for their superior authority to measure the behavioural aspects of the respective police personnel. The questionnaire thus prepared would then be discussed and vetted appropriately by competent police authorities.

The study would be done in the non-contrived setting and there would be minimal researcher interference.

Looking at the sensitivity of the research area and to facilitate the willing responses from respondents a letter of approval from competent higher police authorities would be obtained before approaching the police stations for data collection.

7.3 Sample Design:

The population of this study is frontline police personnel in jaipur district. The jaipur police stations are grouped in 5 clusters: Jaipur East(16), Jaipur West(16), Jaipur North(14), Jaipur South(14) and Jaipur Rural(21). The following multistage sampling technique would be undertaken.

1. A sampling frame for police stations under 5 clusters each would be prepared separately. Then a simple random sample of 50% of police stations would be drawn from it.
2. On the second stage, 10-12 police personnel from respective chosen police stations would be selected based on their availability. Thus a tentative sample of 400+ would be collected. At this stage, non probability sampling is warranted looking at the nature of the policemen's job.

7.4 Sample Size: A sample of 400-450 respondents would be collected.

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